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Everyday Consciousness in Transitional Society: the Symptoms of Crisis*

The split in human soul is an epicenter of the split in the life of society.

A. Toynbee

In fact, the principles of the future always lay the foundation of our outlook.

K. Jaspers

Let everybody answer his own question, what are his chances for the recovery from the illness, and despite of the fact whether they grew in his eyes or not, the most important is to remain courageous, to believe and to do one's duties.

J. Huizinga

In various sources on the problems of the transitional society, our attention is concentrated on the crisis of consciousness and its grave cataclysms, which accompany the state of transition. In Arnold Toynbee's opinion, the 'breaks of civilizations', 'the splits of social systems' appear as 'splits of human soul', which influence the behavior, the feelings, the life as a whole. So, «if we want to have the idea about the deeper reality, it is necessary to examine at greater length the split in the human soul» [1, p. 358].

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In his treatise «In the Shadow of Tomorrow», J. Huizinga who thought of himself as of an optimist, has depicted the pessimistic picture of the contemporary society when after the crisis of 1929 the sentiments of the world disaster became universal. He stressed that such sentiments are caused by the economic crisis which people felt on their own backs (for «in most cases, the back is more sensitive than the spirit») and that «economic disorder is only one of manifestations of the much more widespread cultural process» [2, p. 246]. Considerable cultural changes, the downfall of some cultural forms and the rise of the new ones import deeply internal, personal character to the crisis of the society and give birth to the so-called 'crisis consciousness'. It usually includes consciousness, which is characterized by such signs as perturbation, anxiety, fear, anomy, uncertainty of the future, obvious and ulterior pessimistic grasp of reality. These characteristics of consciousness are considered to be the signs of demoralization of the society, which is especially dangerous in the form of the symptom of 'long range' negative effects.

While studying crisis consciousness, we deal with at least two problems, which are more or less depicted in the socio-philosophic literature. As it is known from history, not all transitional periods are characterized by the feelings of pessimism and inevitability. J. Huizinga shows the deep cultural after-effects of 'economic disorder' and gives interesting considerations in this respect. Comparing the contemporary crisis with the 'greatest shocks of the past', he stresses: though the idea of the downfall or the ruin of the world dominates in different epochs, there exist the periods of 'intensive cultural turn'. Moreover, some of them bare the traits of the deep crisis, others – those of hope and optimism. J. Huizinga characterizes such 'sharp turns' as the transition from the Old Ages to Middle Ages, from Middle Ages to Modernity, then – from the 18-th to the 19-th century, and, in his opinion, the most important is the fact that in critical periods like those of Renaissance and Reformation, of the French Revolution and Napoleon «hopes and ideals influenced the general feelings in culture to a greater extent than they do now» [2, p. 253].

Therefore, the first problem deals with the extent to which social cataclysms, great socio-economic and cultural changes related to the change of the systems of values cause the growth of crisis consciousness phenomenon in either transitional period, and with factors which contribute to this and which oppose it.

The second problem belongs to the sphere of crisis consciousness 'diagnostics', i.e., the possibility of its examination by the concrete sociological means. It is essential to define the characteristics of conscious-

ness, which can be considered as the symptoms of crisis. In the historical literature, we find evidence that it is extremely difficult to characterize the everyday consciousness of the past epochs. Thus, it is not easy to characterize the scale of consciousness crisis at the 'sharp turns' of history and to compare the crisis consciousness of the past epochs with that of our contemporaries.

The researchers who believe that the crisis of everyday consciousness of transitional epochs is universal (embracing the all strata and social groups) apply the so-called 'indirect methods' (the definition by A.Gurevitch) which permit to characterize the consciousness of the vast masses of population. Thus, analyzing the texts of applications compiled by the clerks or the 'books of repentance', written by the preachers, the historians reconstruct the mass consciousness of Ptolemeian Egypt and that of the Middle Ages. A.Gurevitch takes into consideration the greatly popular in the Middle Ages 'pessimistic understanding of reality' and writes the following about the «books of repentance» as the source for the research of the Medieval folk culture: «... we deal with the original questionnaires... they contain only questions, but analyzing them, we can better understand the spiritual world of those people...» [4, p. 63].

Modern sociologists studying the crisis consciousness phenomena can judge about it not on the basis of answers to questions given by themselves, but analysing the content of answers to questions, which were asked. Though the form of the questions (what to ask about?) means a great deal when applying them to qualify the mass consciousness as the crisis one. Here, a great role plays the references to dominating in crisis societies state of uneasiness and to importance of ideas about the future for better understanding of the present-day situation, which one can come across in the historical and socio-philosophic literature.

Jacques Le Goff characterizing the Middle Ages, contends *that just a lack of confidence in the future* influenced the minds and souls of the people of this society and determined their behavior. He writes: «This lack of confidence, which was laid in the basis of everything, was essentially *the uncertainty of the future life* (my italics, *I. P.*), in which happiness was not guaranteed either by the good deeds or by the irreproachable behavior» [5, p. 302].

However, the idea of the future determines not only pessimistic, but also optimistic apprehension of reality and misfortunes of transitional period. For example, Karl Jaspers in his explanation of optimism in the 'transitional' 18-th century, believed that «the popular pictures of future luxuries rooted in the idea of progress» countervailed the pessimistic vi-

sion of the world [6, p. 158]. «The vision of the present, — he writes, — equally depends on the interpretation of the past and the prognosis for the future. Our thoughts about the future influence our vision of the past and the present-day life» [6, p. 155].

Thus, the following methodological statements are to precede the research of the crisis consciousness: the image of the future (its optimistic or pessimistic estimation) causes the interpretation of real processes of transformation, and characterizes the peculiarities of adaptation of population to the events, its state of mind and behavior reactions. The literature on philosophy and sociology analysing problems of ideological and utopian consciousness, as well as various sources describing the state of consciousness of the war-time, point at the importance of 'life prospects clarity', 'precise pattern of the future' and 'confidence in the coming day' for the state of consciousness. Concerning the public sentiments during the World War I, J. Huizinga writes that «in those years, all attention was paid to the closest task, that is, to hold out, to survive, to brace oneself; later, when the war will be over, we shall restore everything, the life will become better, indeed and forever!» [2, p. 247]. So, the prospect itself inspired people and filled them with optimism. The researchers of suicidal behavior who acknowledge the role of social crises in suicidal phenomena take into consideration the importance of the delimitation of crises with 'perspective' and without it.

Trying to solve the question of the symptoms of crisis consciousness, it is quite necessary to take into account the phenomenon of 'presentism' revealed in the process of close study of unstable societies. The essence of the latter is that in the conditions of all-embracing social changes and permanent instability, the people live only by the daily needs; they don't think about the future and don't set themselves any far-reaching aims. At first sight, this conclusion contradicts the statement that in the time of crisis, the image of the future is essentially important for the state of mind. In fact, the phenomenon of 'presentism' is the result of a complex interaction of the interpretations of the present-day reality, as well as of the past and the future; this is also (what is extremely important for understanding the essence of 'presentism') the pessimistic image of the future which formed in the light of a certain interpretation of the present-day reality. The Polish sociologist Elizabeth Tarkowska, who analyzed the 'presentism' phenomenon in a number of her works, states: «Deep political, economic, and social changes and their accumulation within a short period of time precondition the understanding of time by the people, and influence their attitude to the future, which manifests it-

self in a sense of uncertainty and unforeseenness». In E.Tarkowska's opinion, this 'presentist orientation' may be very dangerous for the reforms [9, p. 271].

P.Berger and T.Luckmann write about particular role of the crisis present-day reality for the understanding of the future and the past. They are certain that in crisis situation, the present-day reality is a real basis underlying the attitude to the past in the process of resocialization (alternation). The past is re-interpreted in accordance with the interpretation of the present [10, p. 263]. We come across the interesting thoughts about 'the re-interpretation of the past' in the Middle Ages in A.Gurevitch's work. Characterizing the folk 'reminiscences' of that period as 'mythical and poetic utopias', he writes: «The extent of neglect of the *real history* (my italics, *I.P.*) on the part of epic consciousness can be seen from the fact that Karl the Great, Friedrich Barbarossa and Olaf the Saint were included in the list of such a decent kings» [3, p. 118]. Therefore, the crisis present-day reality preconditions the optimistic re-interpretation of the past and the pessimistic attitude to the future.

The socio-philosophical problem of the intricate interaction of the present, the past, and the future awaits for its more substantial solution by means of sociological analysis which presuppose the empiric research. In the post-Soviet literature, we come across a number of interesting works on problems of the social time experience [11], characteristics of different patterns of social time [12], as well as problems of optimism/pessimism under conditions of transitional society [13]. The main thing is that great efforts are exerted to involve the means of empirical study to the analysis of the above-mentioned problems. In A.Davydov's opinion, the notion of social time as a phenomenon relating to the basis of theoretical sociology is traditionally analyzed within the frame of the so-called 'humanitarian paradigm', while mathematics and natural sciences paradigms are not applied, in fact [12, p.98]. A.Davydov believes to apply the latter permits to conclude that in the conditions of the concrete social process and period the future can play the dominant role [12, p.101]. Thus, the empirical and the mathematical ways of research can presumably bring us closer to the solution of the problems of crisis consciousness.

Nowadays, the same problems are worked out by N.Panina and Ye.Golovakha in Ukraine [14], by E.Babosov in Belarus [15], by V.Yadov and V.Schubkin in Russia [18]. The socially troubled consciousness is studied by the Russian sociologists in cooperation with V.Schliapentokh, the professor of the Michigan State University (USA) who proposed the research project «Catastrophic Thinking in the Modern World, Its In-

tensity and Influence on Politics». The study of the crisis consciousness is related to sociological research of social adaptation and social and psychological aspects of social changes, as well as research of emotional deviations and deprivation behavior in the frame of the so-called 'social problems sociology'. Useful advice can be found in the works by E. Quarentelli (USA) «Disaster: Theory and Research» (1978), «What is Disaster? The Need for Clarification in Definition and Conceptualization in Research» (1985), A. Prigozhin (Russia) «Socio-Dynamics of Catastrophes», etc., which deal with the social aspects of natural catastrophes and misfortunes caused by them.

In the Western sociological literature, the prevailing opinion is that in our time, the theories of catastrophes and chaos «can greatly contribute to the conceptualization of social changes» [19, p. 1]. In the opinion of the American Sociology Association President Maurin Hallinan, the use of these theories and mathematical patterns corresponding to these theories as methodological instruments of study of the dramatic changes of the last few decades can be considered as the overturn in sociology, the kind of scientific revolution in Kuhn's understanding [19, p. 9].

The post-Soviet sociological literature also stresses the need of the application of new approaches to the research of modern social changes (of the so-called 'non-linear paradigm'). E. Babosov who pointed out the constructive side of these approaches in the research of the crises and catastrophe processes, gives an example of an interesting 'catastrophic typologization'. Among various types of catastrophes, he singles out *social* and *personality* ones, though he believes that the human being is necessarily involved in any catastrophic situation as the initiator, or as a victim, or as a witness. In Babosov's opinion, this specific aspect is the object of sociology, which draws the catastrophic events in the sphere of researches, threatening the existence of the individual human being, of a certain social group (such as family, labor body, territorial ethnic community), or of the society as a whole [15, p. 20].

Thus, the notion of catastrophe is rather a broad one, which comprises both natural and social cataclysms. On the other hand, the catastrophe is not only *the aggravation*, or even *considerable aggravation*, but the change of the state which *threatens one's existence*. Probably, it's appropriate to distinguish the *catastrophe* and the *crisis* and correspondingly the *catastrophic consciousness* and the *crisis consciousness* by the same criterion. Though the notion of catastrophe is in most cases used to designate the misfortunes caused by natural cataclysms and correspondingly the catastrophic consciousness is the reaction to such

unexpected for the human beings and the society «external» circumstances. Nevertheless, the crisis consciousness is usually attributed to the unstable transitional societies and is regarded as a phenomenon caused by the socio-cultural transformations. In the process of such transformations, one culture is ruined, another one is formed. One of the consequences of the ruin of culture is «...the collapse of the usual way of life, that causes mass disorientation, loss of identification at individual and group levels and at the level of the society as a whole» [21, p. 208]. If we use the notion of catastrophe in its broad meaning and if we interpret the catastrophic consciousness as any «understanding of the life space as the one unfit for life» [17, p. 80], the line between the catastrophic and the crisis consciousness becomes relative. *The culmination point of consciousness crisis is the interpretation of living conditions as a catastrophe.*

‘Deprivation approach’ is also rather unreliable means of specifying the catastrophic consciousness. Its adherents differentiate between the ‘relative deprivation’, which means the gap between the desired and the achieved, and absolute one, conditioned by the impossibility to provide ‘the elementary vital needs’. The ‘feeling of catastrophe’ is bound up with the latter [17, p. 80]. But in the real life, the gap between the desired and the achieved is sometimes considered to be the impossibility to provide the elementary vital needs, the need in life itself in particular. This, for example, manifests itself in the phenomenon of suicide, which is motivated by the interpretation of socio-cultural reality as life catastrophe. In mass pessimistic psychoses in specific conditions, the deprivation of non-elementary, but the *usual* goods and conditions becomes apparent. *The culmination point of the transition of crisis consciousness into catastrophic one is always relative and conditioned by the concrete socio-cultural, historical circumstances, and by the complex interaction between many factors, different by their quality.* While studying the crisis consciousness, it is necessary to take into account the fact that various neurotic inherent to the transitional society symptoms are the result of the crossing of particularly individual and social factors. E.Erikson’s conclusion that one can’t differentiate between the crisis of identity in personal life and the modern crises in the historical development [22, p. 23], stimulates the unification of macro- and micro-sociological approaches in the research of neurotic conditions. The authors of «Social Problems Sociology» [23, pp. 23-25], and the researchers of suicidal behavior [24, p. 553; 25, p. 69] stress the need for such unification.

The diagnostics, examination of dynamics of crisis phenomena growth, and clearing up factors conditioning such dynamics are of the great theoretical and practical significance in the research of the crisis consciousness. This demands the accumulation of the extensive volume of information and the work with big data files. The estimation of the extent of crisis consciousness is carried out by the use of various characteristics. For the estimation of the state of crisis in its general appearance, numerous scales are used (for example, proposed by American psychologists ILS – Index of Life Satisfactory adapted by Ye.Golovakha and N.Panina); in order to characterize the state of uneasiness the standard test of General Anxiety proposed by V.Yadov is used; the Integral Index of Social Well-Being (ISW) proposed by Ye.Golovakha and N.Panina is also used in the research of above-mentioned phenomena. The mentioned tests, though they are used in mass surveys, are usually rather complicate for the wide-scale examinations, therefore, one of our tasks was to find the relatively fixed characteristics, which represent the crisis character of consciousness.

There is also another side of the problem that initiates the directions of our search for such characteristics. Sociologists engaged in studying the pessimism/optimism phenomenon, takes into account that in such researches, the indicator was usually not the vision of the prospects, but the satisfaction of the present-day situation. L.Kesselman and M.Matskevitch state: «Pessimism/optimism that fixes not the attitude to the present-day situation, but the expected future, is rarely used in the sociological research» [13, p. 40]. The authors themselves believe the indicator of the economic pessimism/optimism is the idea about individual economic *prospects*. The choice of *the image of the future* as the characteristics of the state of consciousness, and indicator of its crisis character was initiated not only by socio-philosophic elaboration of the problem. Attention was paid to the fact that in the mind of individual «just the planned, expected and foreseen future ensure the unity and integrity of his biography and therefore the firmness and long-lasting character of its identifications» [21, p. 209].

In our research, the variables which helped to fix the idea of the future were the verbally spoken ‘confidence in the future’, ‘expectations’, ‘feelings experienced while considering the future’, the idea of ‘whether the main obstacles are in the past or in the future’. Among all the patterns of the future, the ‘confidence in the future’ appeared to be the ‘through’ one, fixed in all data files. Lack of confidence in the future we examined

as experiencing the 'lack of any prospects', and the uplifting of the uneasiness index as the evidence of the crisis consciousness growth.

The analysis of the 'confidence', its dynamics, and connection with other characteristics made it possible to compose the following general picture: confidence index (I_{con}) with certain variations was steadfastly diminishing up till 1996: in the region in general — from -12 in December 1989 to -67 in January 1996; in Odesa — from -36 to -70. In 1998, the I_{con} as in the region as in Odesa raised (and was accordingly -58 and -61), which probably testifies to a certain stabilization in the given period and to relative adaptation of the population to it.

The substantial fall of I_{con} was observed in March-April of 1991 (by 18-20 units), and then in March of 1992 (by 10-12 units). In both cases, the steep rise in prices preceded the questioning. 1992 was the year of disintegration of the Soviet Union, which greatly influences the minds of the population. The strongly expressed pessimistic mood in all the post-Soviet territory in 1992 is the fact established by various surveys in the countries of the former Union. Ye. Golovakha and N. Panina, for example, taking into account the importance of the prospect of personal situation in the future for their respondents, think that the last few weeks of 1992 were the turning point when the «apocalyptic sentiments have become at least widespread if not dominant» [14, p. 101].

We state that the comparison of the results of the research of people's confidence in the future and the suicidal behavior are of great interest and testify the need of the further study of this connection. S. Akhmedova (*Akhmedova S. Sotsiologicheskij podhod k analizu suitsidalnoj informaciji telefona doverija* (Sociological approach to the analysis of suicidal information of confidence line) // *Kharkovskije sotsiologicheskije chtenija-97*. — Kharkov: Osnova, 1997), who analyzed the data of 'confidence line', found out, for example, that the objective characteristics of the potential suicidants, who addressed the 'confidence line', corresponded to those of residents who were not confident in their future. There are both general correspondence of the dynamics of suicidal behavior to the dynamics of 'confidence' and certain connection between 'confidence' and the subjective estimates of living standards and changes in life in general; at the same time, the personal motives are prevailing in suicidal moods (according to the 'confidence line' data). This proves the fact that the crisis consciousness phenomena are to be studied by different sciences in complex.

The attitude to suicide (the extent of the justification of suicidal behavior) also corresponds to confidence/no confidence indices. The ex-

amination of the 10-th grade pupils of Odesa comprehensive schools in March 1996 testifies this. With the relatively high index of confidence (–11 compared to –61 with the youth form 18 to 30 years of age and –73 with the rest of population), the lowest level of confidence (–41) display the youngs characterized by high extent of justification of the suicidal behavior; the highest index of confidence (+20!) display those people who are to the least extent inclined to justify such action.

These findings revealed the connection of ‘confidence’ with the objective characteristics (sex, age, income per capita) and proved that, despite a certain tendency (such as positive connection of income, young age and male sex with the confidence index), the picture of the connection of the given variables is not the same in different periods. For example, in 1989, the variables swing of I_{con} in the groups marked out on the basis of average income equaled 37, while in 1996 it was only 15. Starting from 1996, I_{con} in different age groups varies much less than in previous years. Besides, both in 1996 and in 1998, there was a substantial fall in I_{con} (compared to younger groups) in 40-49 age group, though in 1992, the abrupt fall in I_{con} was seen only with elderly people (60 years and older).

We can also state that the ‘picture of confidence’ in the groups distinguished along other lines is also changing lately. So, in 1994, the I_{con} of those who had ‘private business’ exceeded the average ‘confidence’ by the bulk and was three times as high as that of those who didn’t have private business. In 1996, this gap has substantially diminished and ‘private business’ didn’t add such an optimism as it was earlier. The same can be said about the ‘confidence’ of such social groups as the directors of enterprises and businessmen. Though their I_{con} is still the highest, the gap concerning the indices between these and other groups is lessening. These data prove the fact *that lack of confidence in the future, despite certain recent stabilization, is becoming global and embraces different social groups, particularly those which representatives have substantial work experience, are highly qualified, and, furthermore, those who are rather well adapted to the new ‘market’ conditions.*

The connection between the age and ‘confidence’ proved that ‘lack of confidence’ is not always the ‘privilege’ of those who are over 50. Up to 1992, the highest I_{con} was observed in this group of population, parallel with the 40-49 age group. In our opinion, this testified to relatively social demand for practical experience, qualification, and education in that time (the level of the latter appeared to be the highest in the 40-49 age group). Besides, the results of the data analysis proved that confidence or lack of confidence depended greatly not on the estimations of the cir-

cumstances, but on the idea about their changes (answers to the questions whether the living standards and the life in general for the last few years are better or worse).

We stress that there's a certain correspondence of the economic and socio-cultural processes, which take place in the modern post-Soviet societies, to the crisis phenomena characteristic of the American society in the times of Great Depression in 1930-ies. It was also the period of formation and fast development of American empirical sociology, which gave the samples of the description of states of fear and despair caused by the all-round *depreciation* of social statuses. In our time, the change of social stratification, the descending mobility in the USA is analyzed from the background of the psychological effects and stresses caused by these processes [27]. But it would be wrong to link the crisis state of consciousness only with worsening of financial situation.

We have already stated above that 'confidence' was to a greater extent linked with the estimate of the change of life in general, than with the estimate of the personal financial situation and its change. For example, in 1996, the 'change of life in general' estimation index appeared to be 14 units lower than that of the 'change of material status' and was one of the lowest in the bulk. The reason for this probably lies in the fact that public pessimism is greatly preconditioned by the *general social disorganization*, inherent to the processes which happen in the post-Soviet territories. «The situation of the social disorganization, — believes L. Cosals, — happens when the mechanisms of encouragement for keeping the social standard and punishment for its violation are out of order. When we deal with arbitrariness, you may use your own discretion to hold or not to hold any rule. In this case, the violation of social order and the loss of social guidance take place» [28, p.26].

Kharkiv sociologists have also drew attention to the importance of the estimate of life in general. In 1996, they studied the level of social tension among the urban population. According to their data, 2/3 of the questioned in this period population believed that their life has worsened lately. At the same time, among the most general reasons of anxiety the lack of confidence in the future was at one of the first places [29, p. 161]. Kharkiv colleagues stress the alienation from the society, the aggravation of anxiety, and pessimistic mood. They write: «*Social disorganization, loss of the former social status and the lack of clear identification with the new social groups cause social discontent and the feeling of being unclaimed, which in 1990-ies are, in fact, characteristic of the most part of the Ukrainian population*» [29, p. 70].

The Russian researchers of the social anxiety take into account the social (public) character of the 'confidence/lack of confidence' phenomenon and think the latter is caused by the complex interaction of various social factors. They believe that 'confidence/lack of confidence' («to what extent are you confident in your future?») is less linked with fear of natural cataclysms and the ruin of the environment. It is much more linked with various social factors: fear of unemployment, downfall of the standard of life, 'Americanization', loss of the sense of collectivism, criminalization of the society [15, p. 86].

There are also other feelings which accompany people's consideration of their future («what do you feel when you think about the future?») and correspond to the state of uneasiness. According to our researches in 1996 and 1998, almost 90% of the population stated the negative feelings; among them the 'anxiety and uneasiness', 'fear' and 'hopelessness' were prevailing. 'Hope', stated by 1/3 of the respondents was of a particularly pessimistic character, what is also confirmed by the results of cluster analysis (performed by M. Kuniavsky): in all data sub-files (region in general and various types of settlements), hope stands in the same line with such feelings, as anxiousness, fear, desperation, and characterizes rather the syndrome of desperation and hopelessness, than optimistic faith in the future (see Figures 1 and 2).

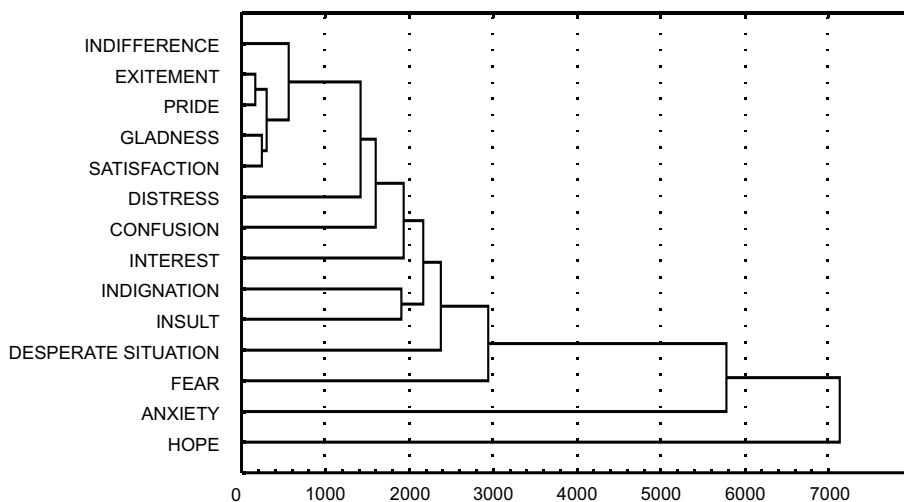


Figure 1. Feelings inherent to the people thinking about the future (Odesa region residents).

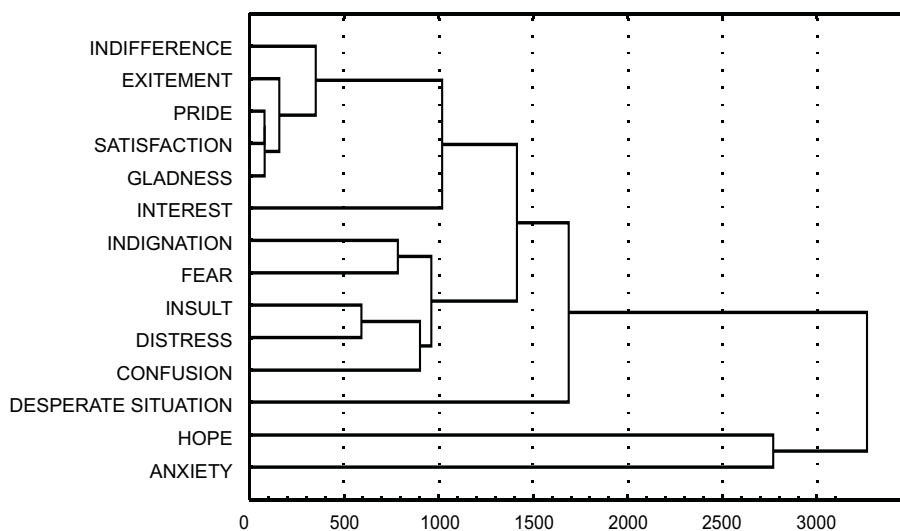


Figure 2. Feelings of the people thinking about the future (residents of Odesa).

Our next pattern of the future described by us as ‘expectations’, turned out to be linked with confidence the most closely among all the rest subjective estimates. It also testifies to the prevalence of pessimistic feelings: after 1991, in all data files, the expectation index bore the negative meaning and was steadfastly reducing up to 1996. The meanings of indices are not so interesting as the comparison of the variants of answers given in 1989 and later, 6-8 years after ‘reforms’ (see the Table).

Table

Dynamics of the distribution of Odesa region population answers to the question: «Do you expect changes for the better in your life?» (%)

№	Variants of answers	1989	1996	1998
1	No, I don't expect any ones in the near future	21	40	32
2	Yes, but not soon	14	25	23
3	Yes, in five years	32	9	8
4	Yes, in the coming years	18	8	16
5	I don't know	15	8	21
	The meanings of indices	12	-22	-16

The comparison of different patterns of the future indicates that 'expectations' are more than 'confidence' linked with various objective characteristics of the respondents. The relative 'grounding' of expectations is displayed in closer link with the estimates of the financial situation (and its change) compared to the general satisfaction and the estimate of justice of the society. In general, relatively abstract estimates are more significant for the 'confidence'.

The 'satisfaction' is not linked with 'real circumstances' directly, but, so to speak, through the instrumentality of general vision of the world. We have every reason to believe that 'confidence/lack of confidence' as a pattern of estimation of the future is to a greater extent than 'expectation' an essential component of an integral system of values of everyday consciousness, which includes the general satisfaction of life as a whole. In 'earlier' data files (1989-91), the connection between the general satisfaction and confidence (Kramer's coefficient) was the most significant: 0.33, 0.38, 0.49; while for the income per capita, age and level of education Kramer's factor was no higher than 0.10. Even the connection of 'confidence' with estimation of the standard of life was characterized by the factors equivalent to 0.18 or 0.19.

In the same period (according to 'earlier' data bases), *the close connection of «confidence» with different estimates of justice* has drawn attention: whether the society is just, the prevalence of the cases of injustice, the successfulness in overcoming injustice, etc. (Kramer's coefficient = 0.24, 0.25, 0.21). Besides, if the correlation between the «satisfaction/dissatisfaction» was mostly transitive (Delta coefficient according to correlation between the 'justice/injustice' was of different character; 'justice' played as if the leading role relative to 'confidence' — y/x was higher than x/y (where y is confidence, and x is justice), and sometimes to a great extent. But 'confidence' played the leading role relative to the estimates of the different aspects of life (the salary, the financial position, the market reforms, the various power bodies, businessmen, future changes, etc.), and even to the satisfaction of the standard of life.

Though, the role of 'confidence', which was 'basic' relative to the estimates of the different aspects of life in 'crucial' 1992, began to lose its importance and the estimate of the standard of life began to play the leading role. In March 1992, when I_{con} was substantially lower, the Delta coefficient $x/y = y/x$ (0.23), but in October, for the same characteristics, x/y (where y — 'confidence', x — the estimate of the standard of life) was equal to 0.14, and $y/x = 0.24$. In 1996 and 1998, the closeness of the connection between 'confidence' and the general estimates (justice and

general satisfaction), on the one hand, and 'confidence' and the estimates of financial situation, on the other hand, was practically the same (Kramer's coefficient ranged from 0.19 to 0.22). Nevertheless, the leading role relative to 'confidence' was played by the estimates of the financial situation. For example, in 1998: $x/y = 0.18$, while $y/x = 0.32$ (y — confidence, x — the estimate of financial situation).

These data, perhaps, testify to a certain restructuring of everyday consciousness relative to the integral system of notions, which is named by M.Rokic the 'belief system'. In his opinion, the character of the latter is determined by what notions are in the center of the system and what one's are on the periphery. It's highly important in what way various beliefs do interact: the simplest, primary beliefs, gained in the process of life experience, and more abstract ones, adopted from various 'authorities', which create the sense of group identity and constitute the structure of the whole system of notions [30].

Characterizing the everyday consciousness as the system of notions with a definite structure and analyzing the connections between the fixed variables, we have drawn the conclusion analogous to that by V.Yadov: «The unconditional domination of the value of social justice is the main criterion in our culture...» [17, p. 80]. N.Naumova also considers social justice to be the «fundamental value of Russian culture» [31, p. 15]. According to our data, even when the tightness of connection of the estimate of the society justice and 'confidence in the future' lowers and is practically equal to the significance of the estimates of financial situation for the 'confidence' (according to Kramer's coefficient), the direction of influence from 'justice' to 'confidence' and 'general satisfaction', but not the other way (according to Delta coefficient), is preserved. However, we must admit the reduction of the significance of the dominant value (the notion of social justice) in the system of notions. This reduction, as well as the advancement of the estimates relative to the concrete conditions of life to the forefront, that is, restructuring of the system of notions and its 'erosion' cause the anomy phenomenon, accompanied by strengthening of the sense of lack of confidence and by prevalence of pessimistic mood.

Our data has also shown that 'confidence/lack of confidence' correlates in general with 'activity/passivity'. The most uncertain are not the ones whose attitude to the changes is extremely negative, but those who undertake nothing to live better and those who are sure that there's no sense in doing anything. So, according to the data of 1989, the I_{con} of those who struggle for justice (on the basis of self-estimates, which

should not be considered as the evidence of the real struggle, but rather as the manifestation of activist ideology) equals -04 and that of those who don't struggle, but resign themselves with injustice equals -38. In 1998, we had the same picture: the I_{con} of the active strugglers against injustice was -39, and of those who 'resigned themselves' equaled -65. Besides, the direction of influence was not from 'confidence' to 'activity', but vice versa: taking into account the extent of activity, it's more probable to speak about the extent of confidence and not to draw any conclusions about activity (Delta coefficients equal accordingly 0.22 and 0.14) from knowledge about confidence. Those who are not confident, project their passivity on the others (the attribution phenomenon described in cognitive psychology). The 'passivity of others' is significant for the ideology of uncertainty: I_{con} of those who believe that «just the people's passivity and indifference» prevent them from struggle against injustice, is by 20 units lower than the I_{con} of those who are sure that namely the 'outside reasons' (relative to people) prevent from such activities. This phenomenon (the connection between lack of confidence and passivity) was named the 'waiting society' phenomenon, which implies inactivity and apathy caused by uncertainty and vagueness of the future in an unstable socium [8, p. 95].

On the ground of empirical data analysis we can suppose that the consolidating idea can be the factor which rises the level of confidence and makes it possible to overcome the crisis phenomena conditions of transformation. The side evidence of this is that the adherents of the national idea («the interests of the nation are above the interests of the state»; «it is necessary to create conditions for the prior development of the indigenous nationality»; «it is inadmissible to enter the Union – CIS», etc.) are more confident in the future than those who are not inspired by this idea (and who are in majority, by the way). It seems that the connection of 'confidence' with the devotion to national idea can be explained by the fact that the latter keeps up a certain state of mind and optimistic moral content. The national idea mobilizes and activates its adherents and permits to overcome the state of anomy and depression, creates the illusion of perspective and constructivity, and set the concrete program of actions. The direction of connection from 'national idea' to 'confidence' and not the other way testifies to this.

By the way, confidence in the future is the most important component of the integral activist vision of the world. Though, the lack of confidence is connected with passivity. If we apply to T.Parsons's classification of 'anomic' adaptation, the growth of uncertainty is the evidence of

the more appreciable spreading of the 'alienated passivity', which can be seen everywhere in the post-Soviet countries. The image of the future or, in other words, the estimation of the prospects of changes is an important factor, which conditions the susceptibility of the population to the changes and characterizes the state of consciousness of the transforming society. 'Confidence in the future' can play the role of the operational indication of the ideas about the future. This indication, which can be used for diagnostics of the crisis consciousness, is connected with other various characteristics of consciousness. The state of confidence/lack of confidence, which corresponds to the state of optimism/pessimism, is mostly determined by the presence/absence of such component of everyday consciousness as the consolidating idea, which inspires the faith in the future. How these ideas arise and take root in the everyday consciousness is the original subject worthy of special discussion.

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